462 woman was standing beside her mate, and each
773 pair were going to shoot together, both at the
539 same time. But Coyote and his wife stood apart, over to one side. Coyote said, "I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first! I'm going to shoot first!" He wanted to win, of course. So Coyote said to his wife, "Are you ready?" and his wife said, "Yes" and both of them shot.

They both missed. Neither of them even hit the target.

Coyote said, "Next! Ready!" and the next couple shot, and they also missed. All those men and women shot and missed, all except Mt. Lion and his wife, who had not tried yet. Coyote called out to Mt. Lion and his wife, "You 2 next!" Then Coyote came up to Mt. Lion and admonished him. "You shoot straight! Your wife is a good shot, but you shoot straight," Coyote told Mt. Lion.

Mt. Lion and his wife prepared to shoot. Mt. Lion shot; Mt. Lion's wife is shooting . . . then Coyote is saying, "Break, bowstring; break, bowstring; break, bowstring!" And Mt. Lion-Woman's bowstring broke; then her arrow dropped to one side of the target. But Mt. Lion hit the target right in the center.

So the women lost and the men won. Coyote said, "Now, all right! You women handle the mortars; we men will handle the arrows. We are men," said Coyote, it is said.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, LAW, CONDUCT

● 622 Chief and messenger.- Each band had chief (timiwal) who was a "lawyer," or "a kind of boss, capitano" and "straightened things out for the people." No hamlet chiefs. Chief lived in ordinary house at one of hamlets, hunted, fished, "the same as anybody else"; food not provided chief.

"When the old chief died, in about one month all the old men from the different hamlets met and asked themselves who would be the new chief. They chose someone, and then everybody knew - 'that's the new one'. The new chief had to have lots of clamshell money; he had to be over 40 yrs. old too. If he turned out badly, the old men met again and chose another man" (SM). FP, PN added that "a chief's son or brother was usually chosen" and office was for life dependent on satisfactory behavior. Sometimes a chief appointed his own successor before he died.

622 Newly chosen chief "told someone to make a
527 big time" for his induction; "everybody came; they had a lot to eat and the new chief talked to all the people; he told them to put their money down to give to people who were sick or poor, and any other things he wanted people to do" (FP). New chief bore part of expenses for this feast; people present also contributed money and food; no dance held (FP). Feast given about one month after old chief had died; "all the people contributed to it" (MM).

[p. 55(a)]

●622 Chief received messengers sent from other tribes, arranged for allies in event of war, assembled war parties, selected captain to head such, "made the war dance (of incitement) at his [702] [728] place" (FP), represented his people at peace parleys with chiefs of other tribes. Chief himself did not go to war. It was chief's duty to [754] 627 admonish evil shamans when they were causing sickness and to order such killed if his admonitions went unheeded; this extended to malefactors within chief's immediate family; no collusion between chiefs and evil shamans, such as occurred among [171] Western Mono and Yokuts (Gayton, 1930, 398) remembered by any of my informants.

622 Chief settled fights arising from jealousy over women, or over possession of game; he "would ask people why they fought and tell them not to 578 do it any more. If 2 persons were always fighting, he would tell one to move out of the settlement" (FP).

622 A chief headed Tübatulabal when they joined the Yokuts for antelope drives, but chiefs did not direct people where or when to go for piñons, fish, acorns.

Chiefs attended burnings, dances; delivered orations at such; lectured youths, telling them not to fight and, later, not to drink too much whiskey; often upbraided stingy people for not bearing just share in expenses of fiestas.

622 Chief did not play hand game (SM); was likely 576 to tell myths in wintertime, but this not his [525] exclusive privilege. Chiefly etiquette did not permit chief to visit socially among his people; [574] "he would send somebody over to a person's house if he wanted to see that person" (SM). One Tübatulabal chief sometimes visited "around Bishop (Owens Valley Paiute); this was all right because he had relations there" (SM). SM, Tübatulabal chief in 1932, visited sick to administer herb medicines; also visited Catholic priest and some of his relations and went on trading trip with his son, MM, to Northfork Mono in 1932, but never made social visits among his people, and those persons other than relatives who came to see him usually came on business.

622 Women chiefs as functioning officials, reported 462 for Tübatulabal (Kroeber, Handbook, 608), denied by SM, PN; SM, 1931, said, "the wife of a deceased chief was called timiwal until she ate meat; then the new chief was chosen. A daughter might be named, but usually refused the office." In 1932 he denied latter part of his statement. FP said Mrs. Petra Miranda should have automatically become chief for Palagewan group after former chief, Mrs. Miranda's mother's brother, died, "only she has no people to be chief for now." SM denied this but said chieftaincy might have passed to deceased chief's sister's son; FM and PN, Mrs. Miranda's son and parallel cousin, respectively, said women never chiefs. Mythological records contain no occurrences of women functioning as chiefs.

622 If people dissatisfied with chief, clown instrumental in having new leader appointed (see below).

[p. 55(b)]

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Kogo in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unangmented Kern, košumye-he-hmk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kuni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 [838 462] Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing from father to son; women, transvestites never clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the-big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka-wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ʔu-dbaʒapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 756 627 Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all deaths except those incurred during war believed to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief might take initiative, order such persons killed. [579 177] Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

[P.56(a)]

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

● 622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished [837] and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his [836] cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women [578] and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (mumal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shamans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
● 622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the